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ABSTRACT

This paper develops a general model of political incorporation and applies this line of reasoning to explain changes in the institutional location of women as a status group. First, it clarifies the premises underlying the argument. Next, it focuses on the educational and employment patterns of women across nation-states from the perspective of the political incorporation model. It specifies two membership status conferral propositions and contrasts them with the implications of alternative "modernization of opportunity structure" model. Finally, it uses cross-national data to test these propositions and discusses the relevance of findings for further comparative inquiry on the structural sources of female participation patterns. (Author)

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THE POLITICAL INCORPORATION OF WOMEN:

A CROSS-NATIONAL ANALYSIS*

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This paper develops a general model of political incorporation and applies this line of reasoning to explain changes in the institutional location of women as a status group. First, we clarify the premises underlying the argument. Next, we focus on the educational and employment patterns of women across nation-states from the perspective of the political incorporation model. We specify two membership status conferral propositions and contrast them with the implications of an alternative 'modernization of opportunity structure' model. Finally, we use cross-national data to test these propositions and discuss the relevance of our findings for further comparative inquiry on the structural sources of female participation patterns.

A. THE POLITICAL INCORPORATION OF STATUS GROUPS

Processes of political incorporation create linkages between two sets of actors: a) a nation-state that exercises authority over a particular domain; and b) a status group that is politically peripheral within that domain. The linkages consist in a network of definitions, rules, and institutional transactions between the collectivity and the status group. These ties both affirm and extend the authority of the nation-state over the status group, and endow the individuals in the group with membership status within the collectivity itself. Processes of political incorporation, hence, legitimate the dominance of the collectivity as well as normalize the political status of the peripheral group.

Studies of political incorporation show that a collectivity may transform a group by allocating membership status rights and responsibilities to the group as well as by reclassifying the activities or functions associated with the group. The acquisition of membership status enhances the capacity of the group to engage in collective action, organized demonstrations for instance, within the framework of established political institutions. Thus, 'subversive workers' become 'regular citizens' with the acquisition of voting and other political rights (Marshall, 1948; Bendix, 1964)

and 'mere students' emerge as 'national agents' in national educational systems infused with political meaning (Meinberg and Walker, 1965; Meyer and Rubinson, 1972). The literature on political incorporation suggests that nation-states vary in the extent to which they establish and regulate relationships with peripheral groups.

Why are some national collectivities more likely than others to extend state authority and confer citizenship status on all within their boundaries? To answer this question we focus on one dimension of the political organization of national societies. We refer to this as 'state corporateness.' Briefly, the political incorporation argument reads: at higher levels of state corporateness national societies are more likely to engage in processes of political incorporation and consequently increase the participation levels of peripheral status groups.

Section B of this paper explicates the concept of state corporateness and sets forth the theoretical rationale for the political incorporation model.

Historically, the concrete mechanisms through which states have created linkages with peripheral groups are a) the franchise, b) mass schooling, and c) the labor force. We expect to find the more corporate nation-states a) organizing electoral, educational, occupational, and other citizenship validating institutions around egaliterian and mobilizing myths emphasizing collective interests and state purposes; and hence, b) increasing the effective access of politically peripheral status groups to the voting booth, the schoolhouse, and the job market. Figure I below diagramatically represents this line of reasoning. The political incorporation model consists in the following general propositions:

Proposition I - The greater the degree of state corporateness the greater the increase in the political incorporation of peripheral status groups.

Proposition II - The greater the extent of the political incorporation of a status group the greater the increase in the relative participation of the status group in citizenship validating institutions.

These propositions logically imply a third proposition:

Proposition III - The greater the degree of state corporateness the greater the increase in the participation of the status group in citizenship validating institutions.[1]

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Figure I about here

B. STATE CORPORATENESS

Following Swanson (1970) we assert that the corporate existence of a collectivity is found in a) its legitimated sphere of action, its area of jurisdiction, and b) its legitimated procedures for collective action. Collectivities that have institutionalized interests and rights of their own, independent of the perogatives and purposes of their constituent members, enjoy a greater scope of legitimate action. Moreover, collectivities that have endowed an agency with the right and power to act on behalf of the whole, articulating its purposes and defending its interests are more likely to undertake collective action. We expect these two dimensions of corporateness to intercorrelate highly: collectivities with higher levels of taken-for-granted rights, purposes, and interests of their own are more likely to have decision-making structures that facilitate collective action.

For national societies the corporate construction of the state involves the legitimation of an expanded sphere of state jurisdiction and the institutionalization of decision-making structures that increase the likelihood of

state-level action. Nation-states undergo corporate construction through two general mechanisms: a) by reclassifying institutional activities previously labeled as local or even private concerns so that henceforth these activities embody national purposes, involve national interests, and fall under national jurisdiction; and b) by validating the concentration of authority in a single agency so as to increase the likelihood of state action (Huntington, 1968).

Earlier we emphasized that political incorporation strategies involve both extension of state authority over and conferral of citizenship (national membership status) on peripheral status group members. In sketching the theoretical justification for the political incorporation argument the exposition that follows first proceeds from a Weberian imagery of society and emphasizes processes of competition among different organizations advancing authority claims. We later adapt a Durkheimian perspective and stress ritual processes of membership status conferral.

1. The Construction and Extension of State Authority

Much thinking in political anthropology stresses the emergence of the state as a critical juncture in the social organization of human societies (e.g., Fallers, 1963; Krader, 1968). The state formation process initially involves the differentiation of political functions and roles from other societal activities and structures. The liberation of the political system from primordial, ethnic and religious affiliations facilitated the change in its character from a conditional to a continuous organizational network (Easton, 1950). The emergence of the state may be dictated by the pressures of external forces operating under the dictum 'divide et impera' but its continuity requires the extension and legitimation of state authority. Needless to say, traditional power centers in society raise dynastic or religious arguments to sharply curtail the new authority claims of the state. Thus, the emerging state competes with other organizations for effective control

of the human population within the boundaries of a more or less specifiable territorial unit.

There are varied outcomes to the struggles between the state and rival organizations. The authority claims of the state may be successfully repudiated. At the other extreme, state authority may become a taken-for-granted reality and no area of important social activity may fall outside its scope. Increases in the legitimacy and extensiveness of state authority constitute the historic trend in virtually every nation in the contemporary world-system (Boli-Bennett, 1975). But contemporary nation-states display much variation in the degree to which state power is legitimated and extended. They also vary in the degree to which peripheral status groups are politically incorporated.

Why should a high level of state corporateness lead to greater symbolic and structural linkages--linkages between the state and marginal status groups? For two reasons: a) the more the corporate character of the state has been institutionalized, the greater its capacity for both initiating contacts with the periphery and satisfying demands from the latter; and b) because a highly corporate state enjoys widespread legitimacy and extensive jurisdiction it can afford to challenge and subdue actual or potential threats from constituent bodies or special interest groups. Thus, at higher levels of corporate construction nation-states are more likely to succeed in commandeering the loyalties of peripheral status groups than other power centers. The political incorporation strategy serves both to extend the authority of the state over a peripheral group and to strengthen the position of the state vis-a-vis the more powerful status groups.

To illustrate the reasons cited above let us briefly focus on the extension of the franchise to women. Note that even though the social and economic status of women did not greatly change as a result of the extension

of the right to vote (Chafé, 1973), the allocation of voting rights to a new group alters (at least potentially) the composition of the body politic. Consider two societies, A and B, and assume that they mainly differ insofar as the state in Society A enjoys a high level of collective authority while the state in B does not. In Society B where the collective authority of the state is relatively weak, the political status of women would primarily depend on the nature and strength of various coalitions of interest groups and elites. The state would play a minimal role in this society, because it would lack both the organizational capacity to effectively act and the mobilizational appeals with which to counter traditional ideologies originating in other power centers, for instance, religious organizations. Under these conditions the political incorporation of women is a risky proposition from the perspective of the state. Instead of checkmating the power of constituent bodies through an overt manifestation of state authority, where the legitimacy and extensiveness of state authority is weak, an attempt to alter the composition of the body politic may activate resistance from the constituent bodies.

To summarize, we argue that highly corporate states are more likely to create and maintain institutional linkages between themselves and peripheral status groups because: a) they are more capable of efficaciously extending their authority over the new groups; and b) they are more likely to display state authority in action to keep closer reign on the power of the more established groups.

2. The Conferral and Institutionalization of Membership Status

Many social scientists argue that the cultural continuity and institutional integration of human society is potentially threatened by the barbaric invasion of the next generation (Malinowski, 1930). To cope with this problem societies normatively regulate the process of becoming full-fledged members.

This involves systematically exposing the 'newcomers' to the reality of the collective order through participation in social rituals. In analyzing preliterate societies Durkheim (1912) contended that initiation ceremonies served as a membership status conferral mechanism. Quite apart from what participation in the rites did to the private feelings of the initiatees, their new social identities increased the likelihood that they would join the 'regulars' in affirming the most institutionalized definitions of situation and events (Young, 1965). Not the least important of the many shared taken-for-granted realities will be their certified societal membership status.

A number of writers observe that the acquisition of membership status in contemporary societies is even more problematic. Some stress various sources of cultural discontinuities (e.g., Lapp, 1969). It is often asserted that the modernization process itself, with its attendant emphasis on utilitarian decision-making, technology, bureaucratic organization, etc. may strongly undermine the capacity of society to institutionalize ritual processes of membership status conferral.

We propose an alternative perspective. We view schooling, voting and participation in the labor market as ritual processes of membership status conferral.[2] It is easy to see that the unschooled, the disenfranchised, and the unemployed are routinely classified and acted upon as second class citizens in many contemporary countries. This perspective has been partly developed in attempts to draw a parallel between initiation ceremonies and mass schooling (Hart, 1955; Dreeben, 1968; Ramirez, 1975). Note, however, that school systems may create citizens via a process of institutional certification that works independent of whether the pupils have developed the range of psychological qualities socialization theorists impute to them (Meyer, 1970, 1972). In both initiation ceremonies and mass schooling the substantive content of the specialized socialization (and whether or not it is

learned) is less instrumental to the membership status endowment than the institutional mandate to create the 'new person.'

This perspective has not yet been systematically used in studies of electoral and employment processes. To the extent that the statuses citizen and worker are closely associated with full-fledged adult status in contemporary national societies, extending the right to vote and to hold a job to a peripheral group symbolically transforms the members of the group into 'regulars' of society, in addition to concretely adding their numbers to those areas under the jurisdiction of the state.

Briefly stated, societies cope with the problem of membership--what does it mean to be a member and who are the members--through ritual processes. Individuals may indeed acquire citizenship qualities as they anticipate the desirable futures their certified statuses make possible or after they have been allocated the more favorable positions in society. But the process of membership status conferral is primarily one of institutional validation rather than individual learning.

Earlier we emphasized two reasons for the thesis that highly corporate states were more likely to establish ties with politically peripheral status groups. We now emphasize two further points: a) Highly corporate states are more likely to transmit unifying myths about the national collective order to peripheral status groups, for instance myths such as the indivisibility of the national interest, the rise of a new society, the imperative of national development, etc. and b) Highly corporate states are less likely to tolerate local or sectarian ideologies (partial societies in the Rousseauian sense) and hence dramatize the paramount reality of the collective order and the moral significance of membership therein through ritual affirmations of the legitimacy and immanence of the order.

To illustrate, consider the national incorporation of mass schooling in France after the overthrow of the Old Regime. Reisner (1927) describes the redefinition of education as a State--not a Church--concern, as a political undertaking designed to symbolize and promote the collective national interest. The foremost consideration was to ensure that old loyalties and primordial ties would not obscure or hinder the national state. By extending schooling to the masses the state would affirm and extend its authority over them as well as ritually endow them with national membership status.

The structural and symbolic perspectives compliment each other. The former emphasizes the organizational capacity of the more corporate states to extend their authority over politically peripheral groups while the latter stresses the greater institutional significance of membership status conferral rituals for the more corporate states. Thus, we expect the more corporate states to engage in strategies of political incorporation because they have more power to effectively do so and because these strategies best promote the image of corporate unity.

C. WOMEN AS A STATUS GROUP

Much of the conventional literature on women is dominated by the sex role socialization paradigm.[3] Within this perspective research is undertaken to shed light on the following issues: (a) sex-linked variations in childhood socialization experiences; (b) sex differences in attitudes and values (often attributed to a); and c) sex difference in the level of participation and achievement in public institutions (often attributed to (a) or (b) or both). The background characteristics of individuals become the crucial explanatory variables in these studies. This approach has led to many interesting insights but the emphasis on individuals as units of analysis has diverted attention away from societal-level variations in the participation patterns of women.

Much of the comparative literature on women as a status groups stresses the beneficial effects of modernization. Some researchers emphasize the material advantages that accrue to women as a consequence of economic development. Lenski (1966), for instance, maintains that with the rise of technology women acquire greater freedom and more incentive to pursue formal learning and develop job-related skills. Others give greater weight to the liberating consequences of 'modern' political ideologies. Goode (1963), for example, analyzes changes in the status of Western women as a function of the extension of ideas about the dignity and rights of individuals to women.

This perspective has been challenged by social scientists who in principle question the explanatory value of modernization theories as well as by those who specifically reject the application of these ideas to changes in the participation patterns of women in the Third World (Boserup, 1974), and even in highly industrialized nations (Knudsen, 1969).

We propose a general redirection by focusing on the relationship between the state and women. We proceed from the assumption that women have traditionally been a politically peripheral or marginal status group in national societies. Applying the political incorporation model, we assert that higher levels of state corporateness lead to greater female participation in key institutional spheres of activity. We have earlier developed the theoretical rationale for this assertion. It will suffice to reemphasize that the more corporate states are more likely to confer citizenship status on women as well as extend state authority over them (perhaps to the detriment of familial and religious authorities that have often dominated the lives of women). These strategies of political incorporation positively influence the level of female participation through constitutional affirmations of egalitarian ideology that result in increased female access to important public domains and through mobilizational processes that allocate a greater

proportion of women to the aforementioned structures.[4]

The model of the political incorporation of women comprises the following general propositions:

Proposition I/ - The greater the degree of state corporateness the greater the increase in the political incorporation of women.

Proposition II/ - The greater the extent of the political incorporation of women the greater the increase in the relative participation of women in citizenship validating institutions.

Derived
Proposition III/ - The greater the degree of state corporateness the greater the increase in the relative participation of women in citizenship validating institutions.

Figure II below is a special case of Figure I. We recognize that women differ from other politically peripheral status groups in some important respects, their traditionally prescribed relationship to children and family, for instance. We contend, nonetheless, that the political incorporation propositions should hold true for women as well as for status groups that are politically marginal on the basis of age, ethnicity, geographical location, etc.

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Figure II about here
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The research that follows focuses on the level of female participation in mass schooling systems and in the labor force to examine the derived proposition. More specifically we test these hypotheses:

1. The greater the degree of state corporateness the greater the relative participation of women in mass schooling systems.

2. The greater the degree of state corporateness the greater the relative participation of women in the labor force.

We also test the conventional modernization argument. We examine the effects of both economic development and political modernization on the relative participation of women in mass schooling and in the labor force. Lastly, we deal with the effects of both state corporateness and modernization on the relative level of female participation in higher education and in the more powerful and well-rewarded occupations. We do so to determine whether the structural processes that open educational and employment doors for women at lower levels continue to equally influence female access to upper-echelon positions in the educational and occupational heirarchies.

E. RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to best test the effects of structural processes on the level of participation of women in national educational and occupational systems a multivariate, cross-national, longitudinal analysis is in order. In our analysis we satisfy the first two of the above criteria, but employ both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs. This decision is due to lack of sufficient data over time on female participation in the labor force to make feasible a study comparable to the one we have done for the participation of women in educational institutions.

Because of the theoretical approach we have taken, we have chosen nation-states as our unit of analysis. While it is clear that there are both political and economic factors operating at the local level which will affect peripheral groups, and that there are extra-state relationships which have implications for the internal structure and activities of individual states, we feel that the organization of the state is the primary variable to be analyzed with respect to the status of internally peripheral status groups.

It could well be argued that women exist as a peripheral group internationally, but there is, nonetheless, a great deal of variation among countries in the status of women. We attempt to account for these sources of variation.

Economic, political and educational variables are often discussed as highly interrelated factors which operate jointly in producing changes in social organization; we therefore examine each of these variables in our analysis, both for their individual import and to control for any spurious relationship.

The analysis of the participation of women in both mass and elite levels of education employs a time lag of five years. This time span was chosen for several reasons. In the first place, examination of the data reveals that the bulk of the change in the proportion of women enrolled in educational systems (particularly at the tertiary level) occurs between 1965 and 1970. Perhaps even more important, however, we feel that in the case of tertiary education systems the more elite nature of these systems is best captured for most countries by data from more recent years. Developing nations often have unusually high proportions of women enrolled in their tertiary systems in 1955 and 1960; this is a function of the inclusion of both nursing schools and teachers' colleges in the enrollment data. It is our feeling that these do not reflect the elite character of advanced institutions of learning that we seek to capture. Rather, these reflect the preparation of women for traditional roles in the semi-professions; participation in universities and colleges not oriented to primary school teaching on the other hand prepare students for possible future participation in more powerful and well-rewarded positions. From 1965 to 1970 virtually all nations greatly expand the size of their tertiary education systems, a process which eliminates highly skewed cases (dropping ratios of from 60% to 90% women to more realistic ratios) while permitting us to maintain a large number of cases in the

analysis. (During this period of expansion of tertiary education systems there is a concomittant international increase in the actual proportion of women enrolled in these systems as well.

F. MEASUREMENT

1. Dependent variables. The variables used to measure the relative level of participation of women in educational systems were constructed from data obtained from the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1973), while indicators of the participation of women in national occupational structures were constructed from data in the International Labor Organization Yearbook (1972). In order to determine variations in the relative levels of participation, rather than absolute differences in the number of educated and employed women, each of these dependent variables was conceived as a ratio based on a broader relevant population. In the case of female participation in secondary (mass) and tertiary (elite) education systems, the measure is defined as the total number of women in each educational system to the total number of persons (men and women) at each level of education (Female Secondary Ratio and Female Tertiary Ratio). The Female Labor Force Ratio is defined as the total number of employed women to the total number of employed persons in a given nation-state. The indicator of participation of women at more powerful and prestigious levels of the occupational structure is defined as the number of women employed in the administrative and managerial sector as a percentage of the total number of persons in that sector (Female Administration Ratio).[5] The indicators of occupational participation are coded in 1965; the indicators of educational participation are coded for 1970.

2. Independent variables. The measures of educational attainment, the number of women enrolled at primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education relative to the total enrollment at each level are defined in the same manner as when they are employed as dependent variables, and are coded for 1960, 1965 and 1970.

The measure of economic development used in these analyses is gross national product per capita in 1965 U.S. dollars for 1960 and 1965. This data was obtained from the I.B.R.D. World Tables (1971).

Three measures of state corporateness are employed in this paper. The first, the scale of political party systems, is an indicator which distinguishes between the following types of political systems: a) one-party, b) one-party dominant, c) two-party, and d) multi-party systems. It is assumed that the fewer the number of political parties the greater the likelihood of the party becoming a powerful and visible symbol of national unity. One party systems are coded high. This measure is taken from Banks and Textor (1963) for the year 1955.

The measure of the number of cabinet ministers is taken from Banks (1972) for the years 1950 and 1965. It records the number of members in each cabinet. We assume that the greater the number of cabinet officers, the greater the number of institutional structures that have been penetrated by the state and reconstituted as national concerns. Furthermore, we assume that this measure

may capture the degree to which peripheral groups and interests have been symbolically and organizationally linked to the nation-state.

The measure of government revenues consists in the total national government revenue as a percentage of the total national income. The amount of government revenue includes the amount of tax revenue plus non-tax revenues plus indirect taxes. The data used is from the World Table 6 developed by the Economic Program Department, Socio-Economic Data Division of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The measure is an average for the time period 1951-1960, and 1961-1970. We assume that the greater the degree of government revenue, the greater the extent of state control over economic resources; or, in other words, the more the state has brought the economic sector within its jurisdiction.

The measures of political modernization used in these analyses are: a) C. E. Black's Index of Political Modernization; and Banks and Textor's Character of the Bureaucracy. The first measure is takne from The Dynamics of Modernization (Black, 1967). Countries are classified on a seven point scale designed to capture the length of time a society has enjoyed modern institutions and modern leadership, geopolitical continuity, and autonomous self-government. The second indicator is found in Banks and Textor (1963). A four point scale is used to categorize political bureaucracies by judging the extent to which they effectively operate in a functionally specific non-ascriptive social context.

G. RESULTS

We have analyzed data on the relative level of participation of women in secondary education systems and in the labor force, and in tertiary systems and in administrative and managerial positions within nation-states for 66 countries; the number of cases included in any given equation varies from 36 to 57, as data is not available for all countries for each of the independent variables. Restricting the analysis to the same set of countries in each equation does not substantially alter the findings; in other words, in none of the analyses was the inclusion or exclusion of a country with an extreme value for a given variable responsible for the findings. (See Weiss, Ramirez and Tracy, 1975 for similar analyses employing the same set of countries in each equation.)

Table I and Table II show six equations which test the effects of state corporateness, political modernization and economic development on the participation of women in systems of mass schooling and in the labor force.

Table III and Table IV examin the effects of these processes on their inclusion at more elite levels. The analysis of the participation of women in secondary and tertiary education systems (Equations 1-12 in Tables I-IV) is longitudinal in design. Here we have controlled both for the dependent variable at the earlier point in time (1965) and for the proportion of women enrolled at the prior level of education at the earlier time point. The examination of the proportion of women in the labor force and in administrative and managerial positions (Equations 1'-3' in Table I and Equation 4'-6' in TableII) are, however, cross-sectional in design. In these equations we have also controlled for the effects of the proportion of women in tertiary education systems. A list of the countries included in the analyses is found in Appendix A.

In examining these equations we are interested in the following effects which test our hypotheses: (1) in each equation we have included an indicator of political corporateness; we have hypothesized that these indicators would show positive effects; (2) we have also included in each equation an indicator of political and economic modernization; much of the relevant literature has indicated that the effects of these variables should be strongly positive; and (3) finally, we have controlled for the participation of women in systems of tertiary education in our analysis of the role of women in the occupational structure, having demonstrated and discussed the strong role this variable plays in previous analyses. (Weiss, et al., 1975).

1. Analysis of the Participation of Women in Systems of Mass Schooling and in the Labor Force

The hypothesis that more corporate states are more likely to formally absorb peripheral status groups into the national collectivity finds support in ten out of the twelve equations; in eight cases the findings are significant at the .05 level or greater (all but equations 2, 3, 6 and 6' in Tables I and II

We find that states with fewer political parties generate higher levels of participation for women in both secondary school systems (Equations 1 and 4) and in the labor force (Equations 1' and 4', $p < .001$ in the latter case). The number of cabinet posts created by a state also has positive effects on the participation of women in bothsecondary schooling systems (Equations 2 and 5 and in the labor force (Equations 2' and 5', $p < .001$ in both cases). The effects of increasing government revenues take on a negative sign but have essentially a zero effect on the proportion of women in secondary education systems (Equations 3 and 6); they maintain a positive effect however with respect to the participation of women in the labor force (Equations 3' and 6'), with a significance level greater than .01 in Equation 3'.

We have defined one-party states as the most corporate states and given them the highest ranking on the scale; the interpretation to be made in the first set of equations in Tables I and II (1, 1', 4, 4') is that more corporate states are more likely to include women (and presumably other peripheral groups) in systems of mass schooling and in the labor force. The process envisioned is one in which those states which most clearly have jurisdiction over important areas of institutional activity will attempt to tie peripheral groups to the state itself by conferring membership in the form of opportunities to participate in these same areas.

We view more corporate states as having greater numbers of cabinet ministers, often some who are indirectly or directly concerned with the needs of peripheral groups (as a Minister for Education, or in the case of France, a Minister for Women). It is clear in Equations 2, 2', 5, and 5' that those states which do have larger cabinets tend to increase the participation of women in secondary education systems and in the labor force. The findings are significant in all but Equation 2 (which is significant at the .10 level), and are significant at the .001 level in both cases examining the participation of women in the labor force. The measure of government

revenues, indicating the degree to which the state has brought the economy under its area of jurisdiction, also shows positive effects on the participation of women. As the state gains greater control of the economy they tend to utilize that area to incorporate formerly peripheral groups (Equations 3' and 6'). Surprisingly, these effects are seen only in the examination of the participation of women in the labor force, where they are strong and, in Equation 3', significant at the .01 level. The positive effects of government revenues on the participation of women disappear when we turn to an examination of the proportion of women in secondary school systems (Equations 3 and 6).

In our analyses of the effects of state corporateness on the participation of women we find strong and significant positive effects on their participation in the occupational structure while finding somewhat smaller positive effects on the inclusion of women in secondary education systems.

The effects of political modernization are indicated by two variables; each of these has been tested with equations also testing the effects of the various indicators of state corporateness as well as economic development and tertiary education. We wished to insert both political variables in the same equations in order to provide a more accurate test of the individual effects of each; many nations embody aspects of both state corporateness and political modernization. When these variables are examined seperately we obtain results similar to the findings presented here. The effects of political modernization on the participation of women in the labor force and at the secondary education level remain near zero and are negative in direction; the effects of state corporateness continue to be strong, and significant.

We find no support for the thesis that political modernization leads to better opportunities for women; the effects of the indicators used on the

participation of women in the labor force and their admission and continuance in systems of secondary education are essentially zero, although unstable from one equation to the next. Of the twelve equations in Tables I and II, seven show negative effects of political modernization on the participation of women in the labor force and in secondary school systems. Only two of these twelve equations are significant; one significantly positive, the other significantly negative.

In Table I we can see that the effects of the measure of political modernization are mixed in the direction of their effect, and that generally the values of the regression coefficients are very small. In only Equation 3' does this variable have a significant effect; here political modernization assumes a strong negative effect on the participation of women in the labor force ($p < .01$). In none of the equations testing the effects of political modernization on the proportion of women in secondary schooling do we find effects of any size or significance. The other indicator of political modernization, the character of the bureaucracy, has no effect on the participation of women in secondary education systems (Equations 4, 5 and 6). It does, however, show more mixed effects on the participation of women in the labor force; while in Equation 4' the effect is positive and significant at the .001 level; in Equation 5' the effect is once again negative and of only moderate strength, and in Equation 6' it drops to zero with a negative sign. Again, after analyzing the general impact of the indicators of political modernization, both independently and in conjunction with other indicators of state corporateness, we find that there is no support for the argument that political modernization in and of itself generates greater opportunities for the general participation of women in the institutional structures of the nation.

Economic development shows small and generally negative effects on the proportion of women in secondary education systems (column 1 in Tables I and II). The effects of economic development on the participation of women in the labor force are positive and significant in three out of six equations. The strong positive influence of economic development on the number of working women is found only when we control for the effects of political modernization; when these variables are omitted from the equation the effects of economic development vary from .11 to .29 (standardized regression coefficients), and are significant ($p < .05$) in only one case. In general it may be said that economic development positively influences the participation of women in the labor force, but has no implications for the enrollment of women in secondary schools.

We have controlled both for the proportion of women in secondary school systems at an earlier point in time and for the proportion of women in primary school systems at an earlier time period.[6] The effects of the proportion of women enrolled in primary education systems at the earlier time period vary in strength from Equation 1 to Equation 6, but are consistently positive, and significant in all six equations. This implies simply that the proportion of women enrolled in secondary school systems is contingent upon there having been a pool of women enrolled at the previous level from which the secondary level participants can be drawn.

Increases in the proportion of women at the tertiary level of education have strong positive implications for the participation of women in the labor force. In four out of the six relevant equations in Tables I and II the findings are strongly significant (Equations 1, 2, 3, and 4). That this is true even though it is known that the great majority of women in the labor force do not have college degrees (or even high school degrees in many countries) is an intriguing finding we have discussed elsewhere.[7]

2. Analysis of the Participation of Women in Tertiary Education Systems and in Administrative and Managerial Positions

This section examines the effects of state corporateness and economic and political modernization on the participation patterns of women in the more elite positions within the educational and occupational systems. The basic issue we address ourselves to is whether the structural factors that positively influenced female participation at the lower levels continue to show favorable effects at the higher levels. For theoretical reasons and because they so consistently and strongly influenced female participation in mass schooling and the labor force, we are especially interested in the consequences of state corporateness. We will, however, follow the same format used in the previous analyses and inspect the effects of the modernization indicators and the female participation in higher education measure. None of the six equations found in Table 3 (Equations 7, 7', 8, 8', 9, 9') shows any support for a 'trickle-up' effect of state corporateness. The decline in the efficacy of state corporateness is especially evident when comparing its influence on the participation of women in the more powerful and well-rewarded positions (Equations 7'-9') with its impact on female labor force participation (Equations 3'-5'). The size of the beta coefficient drops substantially in all three later equations and the findings are never significant. In the analysis of female participation in tertiary education systems (Equations 7-9) the size of the beta coefficients varies only slightly from those in the equations examining the effects of state corporateness on the participation of women in secondary schooling systems, but in none of the equations in Table 3 are the findings significant.

Let us now consider the effects of economic and political modernization. Economic development fails to show a positive effect in any of the analyses. In fact, in three equations its effects are statistically significant but in

the negative direction. The evidence suggests that there is some factual basis for the growing skepticism regarding the blessings of economic development women allegedly enjoy. The effects of the C. E. Black Index of political modernity are curious: this measure shows very strong positive impact in all three analyses of the expansion of the level of female participation in tertiary education ($p < .001$) but its effects on female access to administrative and managerial positions, albeit positive, never attain statistical significance. Note that therelative level of female tertiary enrollment is the only variable that strongly influences female access to elite occupational positions ($p < .01$ in equation 7'; $p < .001$ in equations 8' and 9'). Perhaps one should think of political modernity as having a direct positive impact on female entry into higher education and through this variable an indirect positive influence on female entry into the better rewarded occupations. This interpretation becomes more plausible if the other measure of political modernization, the character of the bureaucracy indicator, shows a similar pattern of effects.

Let us turn to Table 4. Here the political modernization indicator has a strong positive influence in only one of the three analyses (equation 10) of changes in the relative level of female tertiary enrollments. In the next set of equations the effects of the character of the bureaucracy are never significant. In Tables 3 and 4 the political modernization measures show significant positive effects if and only if economic development shows a significant negative effect. Since the economic and political indicators are highly and positively intercorrelated with one another in these equations the size of the positive effects of political modernization and/or the size of the negative effects of economic development may be somewhat inflated. This methodological caveat [and the fact that these significant findings occur in only four out of twelve equations (7-10] should caution readers against drawing hasty inferences.

Other findings in Table 4 closely resemble those reported in Table 3. The state corporateness effects tend to be positive but they are small and insignificant. The effects of economic development though usually small tend to be negative. The relative number of women in higher education strongly influences the relative number of women in the higher occupational strata ($p < .01$ in equation 10'; $p < .001$ in equations 11' and 12').[8] However, the impact of the proportion of women enrolled in high schools on the later proportion of women enrolled in post-secondary institutions is hard to determine from the analysis; it is clear that the strong connection which exists between primary female enrollments and the later proportion of women in high schools does not exist between secondary female enrollment and the future enrollments of women in universities, colleges and technical training institutes. There is, in other words, no strong cohort effect.[9]

3. Summary of Results

These analyses were primarily undertaken to test the proposition that a greater degree of state corporateness would lead to greater female participation in the secondary school systems and in the labor force. The evidence clearly and strongly supports this proposition. In Tables I and II the positive impact of state corporateness on female participation is significant at the .05 level or better in eight out of twelve equations. The more corporate states, however, do not appear to increase the admission of women to tertiary educational systems or to the more powerful and prestigious levels of the occupational heirarchy (Tables III and IV).

The thesis that economic and political modernization positively influence the participation of women finds little support in our analysis. The effects of both variables vary in direction. Economic development has a positive significant effect in only four out of twelve equations; political

modernization in only one. In examining the influence of modernization on more elite levels of participation we find that while economic development tends to have negative effects the influence of political development tends to be positive. These effects, however, are significant in only four out of twelve equations.

While we find that the presence of women in primary educational settings positively affects the later participation of women in secondary schools we do not observe the same type of influence from secondary participation to inclusion in tertiary systems of education. The impact of including women in tertiary education systems on their participation at all levels of the labor force is consistently positive and statistically significant in ten out of twelve equations (Tables II and IV). Female tertiary enrollments is the only variable tested which affects the admission of women to the more powerful and prestigious positions in the labor force.

H. CONCLUSIONS

There is much ongoing research that focuses on women. Very little of this work is comparative in nature and even less of the recent literature systematically analyzes variations in the position and participation of women as a status group within the social structure. Institutional barriers have been erected against women as a whole, rather than as unique individuals. We propose therefore that research directed toward an examination of the structural factors which influence the position of these societal members as a group is of paramount importance. The aggregate studies of such processes as individual mobility patterns are extremely useful in informing us as to which set of women are more likely to successfully participate in occupational (and educational) structures. But changing these background characteristics (such as the occupation and education of the mother) is a long term process

at best, and may be viewed as cyclically self-defeating. We feel that explanations of causes of variations between countries will prove to be not only of intellectual interest, but of use in delineating areas in which changes in the institutional structure of a nation-state will be of benefit to the female half of its population.

The cross-national data analyzed in this paper sheds light on the institutional factors that influence female participation patterns in citizenship validating institutions. It is reasonable to conclude that the level of state corporateness is a much more important determinant of female participation in mass schooling and in the labor force than economic and political modernization factors. Further research in this area will test the first and second propositions of the model of the political incorporation of women.

Our study cannot adequately account for changes in the proportion of women in the more elite structures. Perhaps we should examine with care the influence of other structural variables such as the character and intensity of the division of labor, the cultural milieu particularly as it is reflected in familial structure and religious ideology, demographic patterns, and the location of a nation-state within a developing world system. Lastly, much more comparative research needs to be organized to study variations in the level of income and authority enjoyed by women in different occupations relative to the economic and political authority exercised by their male colleagues.

FOOTNOTES

[1] These propositions were previously tested focusing on the effects of state corporateness on the extent to which the system of mass schooling was nationally incorporated and expanded. In these studies of the political incorporation of children and adolescents we found strong support for the first and third propositions: higher levels of state corporateness lead to increases in the national incorporation and expansion of mass schooling. (Ramirez, 1974, 1975). With respect to the second proposition, though the evidence was in the expected direction, the effects were not statistically significant. Note that this paper employs a research design and measures of the independent variable (state corporateness) similar to the design and measures used in the prior studies.

[2] We do not intend to assert here that the process of admitting women or other peripheral groups to schools and the labor force (and the voting booth) is wholly symbolic. Rather, we define these activities in both symbolic and organizational terms. The relevance of the latter perspective may be more apparent when one considers the close connections between the state and the economy. It has long been held that women function as a reserve army of labor, called up to join the economy in times of national need. To the extent that the state is tied to the national economy it would not be unexpected to find a concerted effort to mobilize women to join the labor force in times of national economic emergency or expansion, both in order to efficiently maintain the economy and the state and to symbolically confer full citizenship rights on the women in the society.

[3] For an extended and articulate review of the literature on sex role socialization see Hochschild, 1973.

[4] For an excellent historical illustration of how a nation-state may accelerate participation patterns both via a constitutional affirmation of equality between the sexes and through mobilizational strategies see the essay by Julia Kristeva, 'On the Women of China,' Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. Vol. I, No. 1: pp. 57-62.

[5] We have chosen the category of administrators and managers as more representative of the powerful and well-rewarded positions women hold in a society than the often used category of professionals. The professions most often filled by women can hardly be construed as powerful and well-rewarded, but may best be viewed as quasi-elite semi-professions. In addition, we find that the mean relative participation level for women in the professions cross-nationally is .41, nearly double that of the mean relative level of participation of women in the labor force as a whole (.27). We have chosen administrators and managers as representing more clearly positions of greater power and income. Note that the mean relative level of participation for this category (.10) also reflects its elite character.

[6] While the effects of the autoregression term are strong and significant at the .001 level, they are not so strong as to account for all the variance in the model; this is true even though the time lag is only five years. Other tests of the model were done using both ten and fifteen year lags; the effects of theautoregression term diminished only slightly (less than .10 difference), and the effects of the other variables remained substantially the same.

[7] We have previously sought to explain this process in terms of 'institutional demystification,' that is, the generalization of the acceptance of a peripheral group in one institutional setting to other institutional settings (Weiss, Ramirez, Tracy, 1975).

[8] We have also tested for the effects of increasing participation of women in the labor force on their participation in administrative and managerial positions and in tertiary education systems. This was done to assess (a) the possibility of a 'trickle-up' effect, that is, the argument that as women fill positions in the labor force they will gradually come to fill the more elite positions proportionately, and (b) the further possibility that as women enter the labor force in greater numbers, the same processes that operate to move women into the labor force will necessitate an expansion of the number of women in colleges and universities in order that they may be appropriately trained to fill necessary positions. In neither case did we find any effects of increasing participation in the labor force on subsequent expansion in the proportion of women in the administrative and managerial positions or in tertiary education systems.

[9] It should be noted here that there is, in a sense, a world-level convergence on the acceptability of placing women in colleges and universities. In all countries examined there is not only a rapid expansion of tertiary education systems in general between 1965 and 1970, but also a concommitant increase in the proportion and number of women enrolled.

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FIGURE I

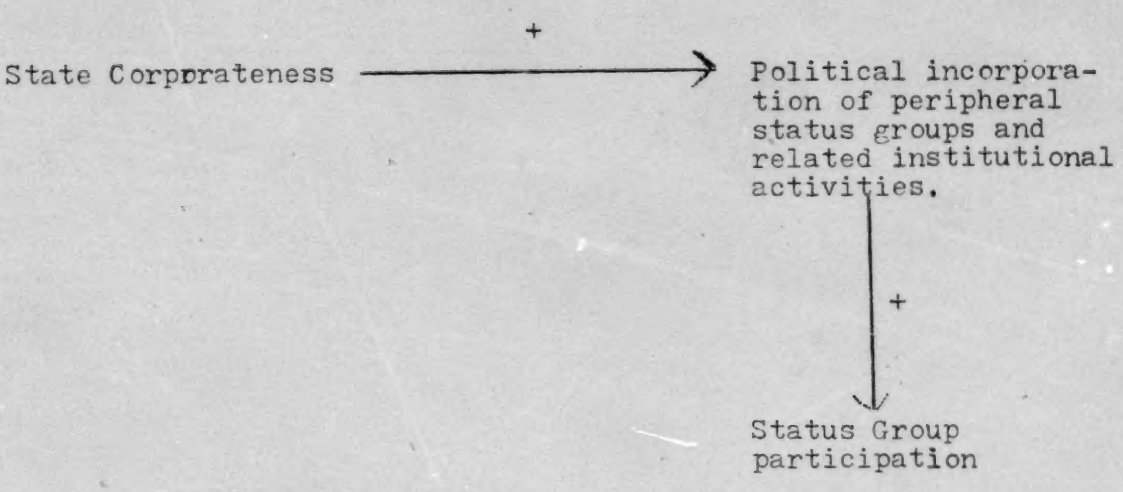
+
State Corporateness
Political incorporation of peripheral status groups and related institutional activities.
+
Status Group participation

FIGURE II

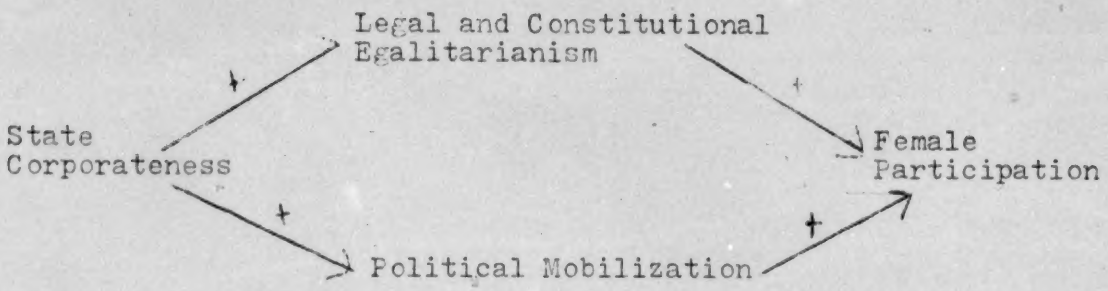
Legal and Constitutional
Egalitarianism
State
Corporateness
Female
Participation
Political Mobilization
+
+
+
+

Table I. Effects of State Corporateness, Political Modernization, Economic Development and Female Primary Enrollments on the Proportion of Women Enrolled in Secondary Education Systems in 1970, Controlling for the Proportion of Women Enrolled in Secondary Education Systems in 1965; and the Effects of State Corporateness, Political Modernization, Economic Development, and Female Tertiary Enrollments 1960 on the Participation of Women in the Labor Force in 1965.

	Proportion of Women in Secondary Education Systems				Proportion of Women in the Labor Force		
Eqn. 1	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 1'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	-.03722			Constant,	.19424		
Pol. Part.	.00718*	.00410	.10030	Pol. Part.	.05941*	.03463	.24511
Pol. Mod.	.00150	.00515	.02589	Pol. Mod.	.01000	.00916	.15622
GNP/cap	-.00019	.00111	-.01063	GNP/cap	.00202**	.00093	.31043
Fpri	.41184***	.17149	.21868	Femter	.29686**	.14074	.30361
Fsec	.67636***	.06265	.80798				
	N=43, R^2=.92362				N=45, R^2=.22363		
Eqn. 2	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 2'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	-.01948			Constant,	.02103		
Cab. Mins	.00112	.00072	.05749	Cab. Mins	.00951***	.00254	.48189
Pol. Mod.	-.00064	.00364	-.00882	Pol. Mod.	-.00213	.01315	-.02047
GNP/cap	-.00013	.00069	-.00720	GNP/cap	.00297	.00203	.17254
Fpri	.34585***	.08165	.25792	Femter	.28677**	.13703	.26765
Fsec	.66665***	.05644	.75344				
	N=61, R^2=.93789				N=48, R^2=.43572		
Eqn. 3	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 3'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	.06539			Constant,	.04409		
Gov. Revs.	-.00016	.00063	-.01351	Gov. Rev.	.00478**	.00213	.40675
Pol. Mod.	.00230	.00301	.03467	Pol. Mod.	-.02380**	.00971	-.50584
GNP/cap	.00011	.00012	.00676	GNP/cap	.00458*	.00269	.37229
Fpri	.19591**	.08756	.14421	Femter	.00044	.09494	.00065
Fsec	.69926***	.05756	.82378				
	N=57, R^2=.94537				N=43, R^2=.29123		

Those values which are starred are significant at the .05 level of significance, while those values which are followed by two asterisks are significant at the .01 level of significance, three * = .001. The independent variables in these tables (I and II) are defined as follows: Fem. Ter is the proportion of women enrolled in tertiary education systems in 1960; GNP/cap is the gross national product per capita in 1960 (1965 for the equations in column one); Pol. Part. is the number of political parties in 1955; Cab. Mins. is the number of cabinet ministers in 1950 and 1965; gov. rev. is government revenues as a percent of gross domestic product coded from 1951-60, and 1961-67 in column one; Fpri and Fsec are the proportion of women enrolled in primary and secondary schools in 1965.

Table II. Effects of State Corporateness, Character of the Bureaucracy, Economic Development and Female Primary Enrollments on the Proportion of Women Enrolled in Secondary Education Systems in 1970, Controlling for the proportion of Women Enrolled in Secondary Education Systems in 1965; and the Effects of State Corporateness, Character of the Bureaucracy, Economic Development, and Female Tertiary Enrollments 1960 on the Participation of Women in the Labor Force in 1965.

	Proportion of Women in Secondary Education Systems				Proportion of Women in the Labor Force		
Eqn. 4	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 4'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	-.08241			Constant,	.27053		
Pol. Part.	.00729*	.00391	.10078	Pol. Part.	.09618***	.03553	.39751
Char. Bur.	-.00632	.01441	-.03977	Char. Bur.	.06080***	.02568	.39114
GNP/cap	.00047	.00144	.02621	GNP/cap	.00227***	.00088	.35003
Fpri	.45581***	.15375	.24137	Femter	.26245*	.13240	.26648
Fsec	.68153***	.06389	.81347				
	N=41, R^2=.92389				N=44, R^2=.32415		
Eqn. 5	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 5'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	-.03318			Constant,	-.02189		
Cab. Mins.	.00133*	.00072	.06890	Cab. Mins.	.00969***	.00236	.49912
Char. Bur.	-.00230	.00761	-.01784	Char. Bur.	-.02708	.02519	-.17858
GNP/cap	-.00067	.00110	-.03164	GNP/cap	.00478	.00293	.27980
Fpri	.36180***	.09252	.26523	Femter	.25354*	.13836	.23365
Fsec	.67390***	.00072	.86890				
	N=55, R^2=.93720				N=47, R^2=.43252		
Eqn. 6	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 6'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	.05423			Constant,	.16750		
Gov. Revs.	-.00003	.00081	-.00254	Gov. Revs.	.00300	.00239	.30795
Char. Bur.	.00151	.00719	.01229	Char. Bur.	-.00914	.04106	-.06483
GNP/cap	-.00054	.00153	-.02651	GNP/cap	.00210	.00334	.17081
Fpri	.17289*	.10698	.12330	Femter	.05327	.11130	.07656
Fsec	.73474***	.06188	.86824				
	N=48, R^2=.94514				N=41, R^2=.17731		

Those values which are starred are significant at the .05 level of significance, while those values which are followed by two asterisks are significant at the .01 level of significance, three * = .001. The independent variables in these tables (I and II) are defined as follows: Fem. Ter., is the proportion of women enrolled in tertiary education systems in 1960; GNP/cap is the gross national product per capita in 1960 (1965 for the equations in column one); Pol. Part. is the number of political parties in 1955; Cab. Mins. is the number of cabinet ministers in 1950 and 1965; gov. rev. is government revenues as a percent of gross domestic product coded from 1951-60, and 1961-67 in column one; Fpri and Fsec are the proportion of women enrolled in primary and secondary schools in 1965.

Table III. Effects of State Corporateness, Political Modernization, Economic Development and Female Secondary Enrollments on the Proportion of Women Enrolled in Tertiary Education Systems in 1970, Controlling for the Proportion of Women Enrolled in Tertiary Education Systems in 1965; and the Effects of State Corporateness, Political Modernization, Economic Development, and Female Tertiary Enrollments 1960 on the Participation of Women in Administrative and Managerial Positions in 1965.

	Proportion of Women in Tertiary Education Systems				Proportion of Women in Administrative and Managerial Positions		
Eqn. 7	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 7'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	.21452			Constant,	.06003		
Pol. Part.	-.00090	.00041	-.01037	Pol. Part.	-.04000	.02852	-.22284
Pol. Mod.	.02448***	.00830	.31465	Pol. Mod.	.00437	.00643	.10537
GNP/cap	-.00443**	.00205	-.23077	GNP/cap	.00010	.00063	.02379
Fsec	-.07195	.12235	-.06224	Femter	.24558**	.10308	.37503
Fter	.00706***	.00851	.07570				
	N=38, R^2=.82992				N=38, R^2=.26633		
Eqn. 8	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 8'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	.15119			Constant,	.04838		
Cab. Mins.	.00099	.00122	.04600	Cab. Mins.	.00031	.00192	.02378
Pol. Mod.	.01917***	.00716	.22942	Pol. Mod.	.00960	.01008	.21505
GNP/cap	-.00353**	.00150	-.16462	GNP/cap	-.00046	.00213	-.04625
Fsec	.02530	.00769	.02457	Femter	.31767***	.10191	.47413
Fter	.01167***	.00268	.03583				
	N=57, R^2=.85407				N=40, R^2=.33537		
Eqn. 9	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 9'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	.12939			Constant,	.01271		
Gov. Revs.	.00100	.00095	.07451	Gov. Revs.	.00200	.00206	.23355
Pol. Mod.	.01004***	.00610	.22757	Pol. Mod.	.00292	.00980	.07012
GNP/cap	-.00467***	.00176	-.22950	GNP/cap	-.00181	.00240	-.16845
Fsec	.15128*	.08781	.14096	Femter	.30624***	.08884	.50954
Fter	.00321***	.07954	.78202				
	N=52, R^2=.88261				N=39, R^2=.29606		

Those values which are starred are significant at the .05 level of significance, while those values which are followed by two asterisks are significant at the .01 level of significance, three * = .001. The independent variables in these tables (III and IV) are defined as follows: Fem. Ter is the proportion of women enrolled in tertiary education systems in 1960; GNP/cap is the gross national product per capita in 1960 (1965 for the equations in column one); Pol. Part. is the number of political parties in 1955; Cab. Mins. is the number of cabinet ministers in 1950 and 1965; gov. rev. is government revenues as a percent of gross domestic product coded from 1951-60, and 1961-67 in column one; Fpri and Fsec are the proportion of women enrolled in primary and secondary schools in 1965. The auto-regression term for tertiary enrollments is coded for 1965.

Table IV. Effects of State Corporateness, Character of the Bureaucracy, Economic Development and Female Secondary Enrollments on the Proportion of Women Enrolled in Tertiary Education Systems in 1970, Controlling for the Proportion of Women Enrolled in Primary Education Systems in 1965; and the Effects of State Corporateness, Character of the Bureaucracy, Economic Development, and Female Tertiary Enrollments 1960 on the Participation of Women in Administrative and Managerial Positions in 196

	Proportion of Women in Tertiary Education Systems				Proportion of Women in Administrative and Managerial Positions		
Eqn. 10	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 10'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	.21945			Constant,	.07461		
Pol. Part.	.01318	.00934	.14956	Pol. Part.	-.03034	.03030	-.16862
Char. Bur.	.07249**	.02980	.40249	Char. Bur.	.02231	.01885	.19242
GNP/cap	-.00582**	.00264	-.30953	GNP/cap	.00017	.00063	.04085
Fsec	-.01773	.12234	-.01537	Femter	.25991**	.10265	.39067
Fter	.90122***	.10552	.86216				
	N=36, R^2=.82204				N=37, R^2=.29329		
Eqn. 11	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 11'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	.08445			Constant,	.06345		
Pol. Part.	.00083	.00135	.03734	Cab. Mins.	-.00022	.00184	.01758
Char. Bur.	.01588	.01377	.11825	Char. Bur.	.02934	.01753	.33371
GNP/cap	-.00271	.00187	-.12622	GNP/cap	-.00138	.00201	-.13970
Fsec	.02991	.10173	.02062	Femter	.34275***	.10127	.50726
Fter	.96861***	.09140	.88226				
	N=52, R^2=.84659				N=39, R^2=.33966		
Eqn. 12	B	S.E. B	Beta	Eqn. 12'	B	S.E. B	Beta
Constant,	.01441			Constant,	.06684		
Gov. Revs.	.00092	.00113	.06671	Gov. Revs.	.00154	.00205	.17902
Char. Bur.	.00211	.01315	.01644	Char. Bur.	.02934	.03573	.23492
GNP/cap	-.00255	.00204	-.12530	GNP/cap	-.00275	.00284	-.25999
Fsec	.22247**	.10615	.21508	Femter	.29868***	.09640	.48204
Fter	.81402***	.09188	.78072				
	N=46, R^2=.87049				N=37, R^2=.29370		

Those values which are starred are significant at the .05 level of significance, while those values which are followed by two asterisks are significant at the .01 level of significance, three * = .001. The independent variables in these tables(III and IV)are defined as follows: Fem. Ter is the proportion of women enrolled in tertiary education systems in 1960; GNP/cap is the gross national product per capita in 1960 (1965 for the equations in column one); Pol. Part. is the number of political parties in 1955; Cab. Mins. is the number of cabinet ministers in 1950 and 1965; gov. rev. is government revenues as a percent of gross domestic product coded from 1951-60, and 1961-67 in column one; Fpri and Fsec are the proportion of women enrolled in primary and secondary schools in 1965. The auto-regression term for tertiary enrollments is coded for 1965.

Appendix A. List of Countries

1. Algeria
2. Angola
3. Ghana
4. Liberia
5. Libya
6. Mauritius
7. Niger
8. Sierra Leone
9. South Africa
10. Tunisia
11. U.A.R.
12. Zambia
13. Canada
14. Costa Rica
15. Dominican Republic
16. Guatemala
17. Honduras
18. Jamaica
19. Mexico
20. Nicaragua
21. Panama
22. Trinidad
23. U.S.A.
24. Argentina
25. Chile
26. Colombia
27. Ecuador
28. Guyana
29. Paraguay
30. Peru
31. Venezuela
32. Ceylon
33. Cyprus
34. Hong Kong
35. India
36. Iran
37. Israel
38. Japan
39. Jordan
40. South Korea
41. Pakistan
42. Phillipines
43. Thailand
44. Turkey
45. Austria
46. Belgium
47. Bulgaria
48. Czechoslovakia
49. Denmark
50. Finland
51. France
52. W. Germany
53. Greece
54. Hungary
55. Ireland
56. Italy
57. Luxembourg
58. Malta
59. Norway
60. Portugal
61. Romania
62. Sweden
63. United Kingdom
64. Yugoslavia
65. Australia
66. New Zealand